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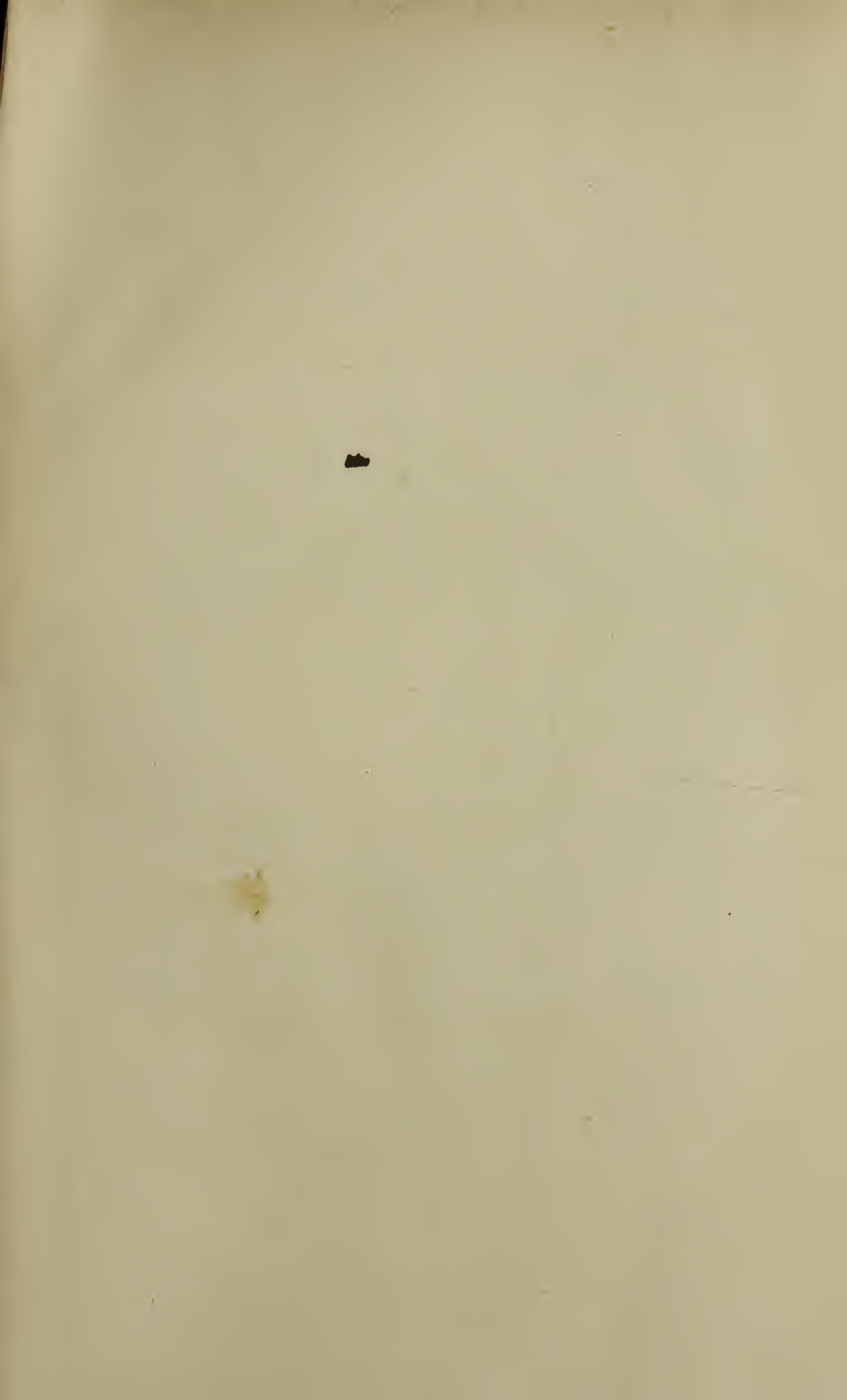


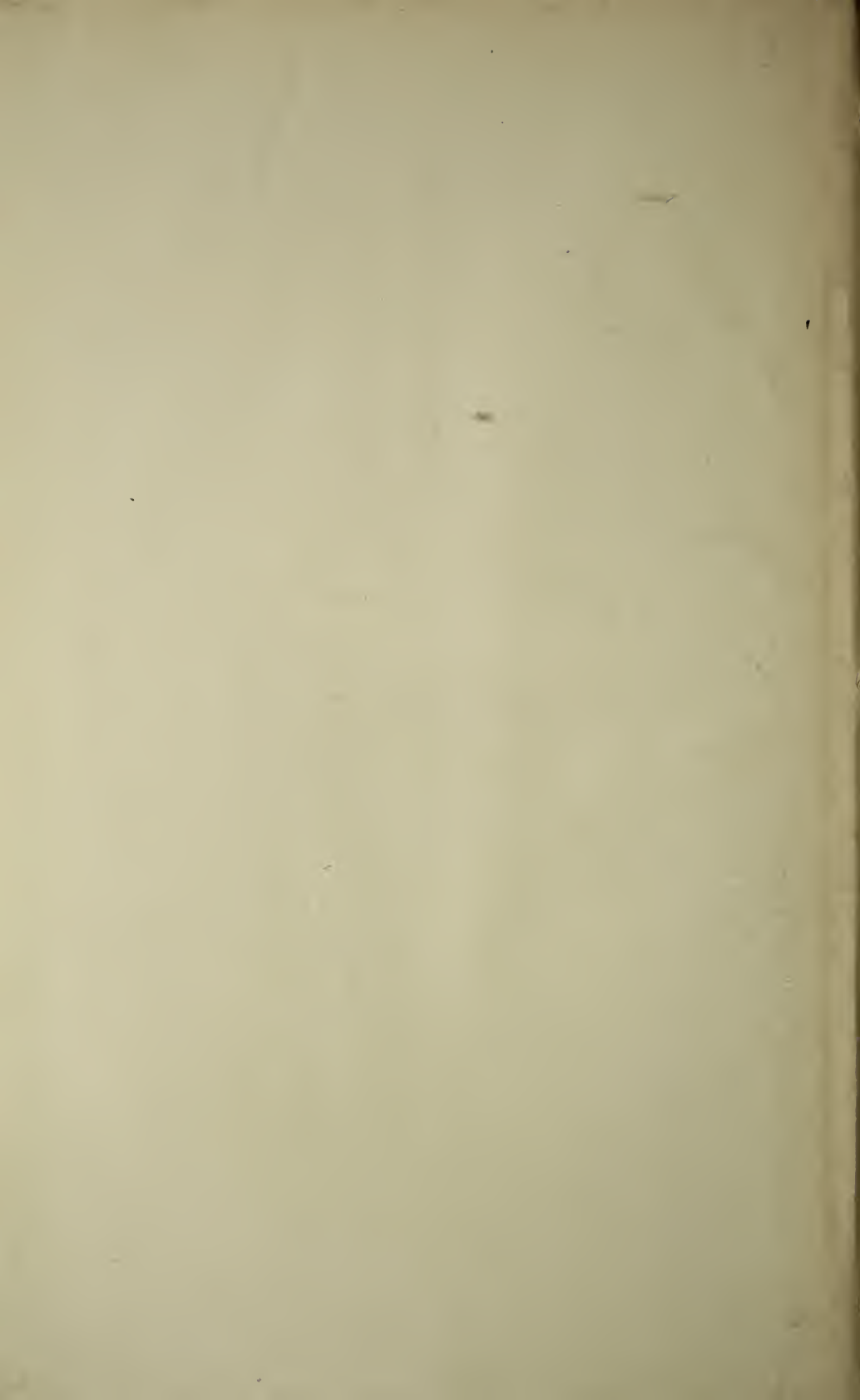
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PHILIPPINE INFORMATION SOCIETY

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SEEKING AN ARMISTICE

APRIL AND MAY, 1899

FIRST SERIES

VIII.

FEBRUARY 25, 1901

This pamphlet may be obtained
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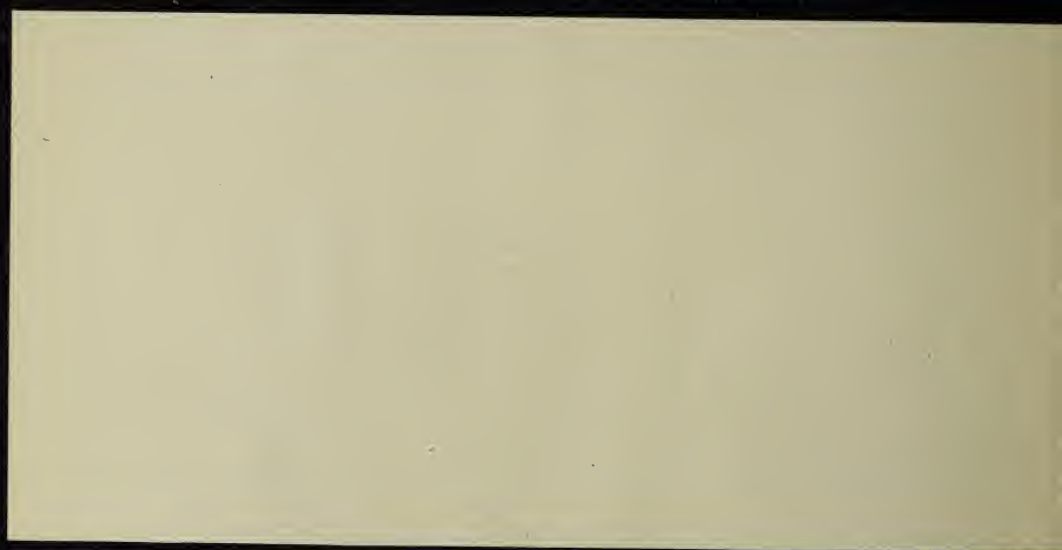
THE Philippine Information Society is preparing a series of publications in pursuance of the purpose for which the Society was formed, that, namely, of placing within reach of the American people the most reliable and authoritative evidence attainable in regard to the people of the Philippine Islands and our relations to them.

The whole of the evidence, even the whole of the official evidence, is more voluminous than a busy people can be expected to read. Some selection on our part has, therefore, been a necessary condition of the accomplishing of our object. This selection by us, has, however, been confined so far as possible to the choosing of subjects to be dealt with. Upon each subject chosen we have given in some cases all the evidence obtainable, in all other cases as much of the authoritative and important evidence as is possible within reasonable limits, with ample references to the remainder.

If those of whatever shade of opinion who find our mediation unsatisfactory, or who are not convinced of our success in getting the whole story, will appeal from us to the original sources of information, our object of promoting a knowledge of the facts will be only the more effectively secured. We shall be grateful for any criticism or information convicting us of the omission of any important evidence, or of any appearance of unfairness in the presentation of evidence, and will endeavor to profit thereby in future editions.

The subject of the present series of papers has seemed to us as important as any that could be selected. It comprises the principal episodes in the history of our relation to the Filipinos, chiefly as that history is contained in our state papers. We have been careful to include the evidence which tells of the Filipinos' share in that history, as well as our own. Whatever view one may hold as to the proper policy for us to pursue toward the Filipinos, it is evident that no policy can be intelligently chosen nor successfully carried out unless it is based upon an understanding of these people, and of their present attitude toward us, and toward the question of our relation to them. It is hoped that the account we shall offer may prove a help toward an understanding of the present situation.

Owing to a delay in securing the necessary documents, Pamphlet VII of this series, "Outbreak of Hostilities, February 4, 1899," cannot be issued in chronological order, but will follow at the earliest possible date.



THE PHILIPPINE INFORMATION SOCIETY.

OUTLINE OF FIRST SERIES.

THE STORY OF THE FILIPINOS

AS TOLD IN UNITED STATES DOCUMENTS AND OTHER
AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

I. José Rizal, the Filipino Patriot: together with an account of the Insurgent Movement of 1896.

II. Aguinaldo: a Selection from his Official Documents, together with the Authorized Accounts of the alleged "Spanish Bribe."

III. The Insurgent Government of 1898.

IV. Our Relations with the Insurgents prior to the Fall of Manila, August, 1898.

V. Aguinaldo and the American Generals, August, 1898, to January, 1899.

VI. Iloilo: An episode of January, 1899, and Incidents leading up to the Outbreak of Hostilities.

VII. Outbreak of Hostilities. February 4, 1899.

VIII. Efforts to secure an Armistice. April and July, 1899.

IX. Efforts at Recognition. October and November, 1899.

X. Present Condition and Attitude.

NOTE. It will be impossible to bring out the circulars in their chronological order owing to the difficulty and delay in securing certain of the necessary official documents, some of which, indeed, are not yet in our hands. Every effort will be made, however, consistent with thoroughness and accuracy, to issue them as soon as possible.

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SEEKING AN ARMISTICE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE first commission to the Philippines, popularly called the Schurman Commission, was appointed in January, 1899. The Commission was composed of Jacob Gould Schurman, President of Cornell University; Major-General Elwell S. Otis, U. S. V. (who did not sign the report); Rear Admiral George Dewey, U. S. N.; Colonel Charles Denby, of Indiana; and Dean C. Worcester, Professor of Zoölogy in the University of Michigan. The Commission was appointed "in order to facilitate the most humane, pacific and effective extension of authority throughout these islands, and to secure, with the least possible delay, the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants." (See President's Instructions to the Commission, vol. 1, Report of Commission, p. 185.) At that time hostilities had not broken out at Manila, nor had the Treaty of Peace been acted upon by the Senate.* Messrs. Schurman and Worcester of the Commission reached Manila March 4, 1899; Colonel Denby arrived April 2, 1899. Finding on their arrival that war was in existence the Commissioners state that they "sought in every possible way"¹ to "bring about peace."² They state that they "early became convinced that the Tagalog rebellion was due to the ambition of a few and the misunderstanding of the many,"³ and accordingly issued, on April 4, a proclamation which should "clear away much misunderstanding."⁴ (See Appendix A to this pamphlet.)

*The treaty of peace was signed by the Commissioners in Paris, December 10, 1898. January 4, 1899, it was sent to the Senate and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Hostilities broke out February 4, 1899. February 6, 1899, the treaty was ratified by the Senate, with a single vote to spare. February 10, 1899, it was signed by the President. March 20, 1899, ratified by Spain.

¹ and ² Report of Commission, vol. I., page 2. ³ and ⁴ Report of Commission, vol. I., page 3.

It should be remarked in connection with the words "Tagalog rebellion" that the Commissioners apparently overlooked the Iloilo episode of January, 1899, wherein the Viscayans disputed our right to the island of Panay, and professed allegiance to the central government in Luzon, thus constituting themselves a part of the rebellion. (See Otis' Report and also pamphlet VI. of this series.) Further, when the United States troops took forcible possession of Iloilo, February 10, hostilities were thereby extended into Panay, the leading island of the Viscayan group.

The proclamation issued by the Commission led to frequent interviews with Filipinos who came either upon their own responsibility or as emissaries sent by the insurgent government. The interviewers seem always to have had the same mission, namely, "to ask a suspension of hostilities in order that they might have a period of quiet in which to discuss among themselves and among their people the advisability of seeking terms of peace, and coming to an understanding as to the forms of government and the rights and privileges which would be secured to them according to the spirit and words of the proclamation." (Report of Philippine Commission, vol. I., page 7.)

It is impossible to tell how many such interviews took place, as the Commissioners' Report is somewhat vague on this point; and General Otis in his report seems to refer to some interviews which the Commissioners do not specifically mention. The conferences with the Commission may be roughly divided into three groups: 1. Interviews early in April with Arguelles, an emissary of Aguinaldo, who came several times alone, and at other times with one Captain Zialcita. 2. An interview on April 21 with certain leading citizens of Manila.* 3. Interviews in the latter part of May with emissaries of Aguinaldo.

None of the interviews with Arguelles are reported in the second volume of the Report of the Commission which gives the stenographic accounts of many interviews; but a communication from the insurgent government, signed by Mabini, which Arguelles presented on one occasion, is printed in the first volume, and is reprinted below.

* This interview is not mentioned in the first volume of the Report, where the other interviews are summarized, but a verbatim account of it is given in volume II., and is reprinted in this pamphlet, pages 10 to 21.

MABINI'S LETTERS.

[From the Report of the Philippine Commission, Vol. I, p. 187.]

“SAN ISIDRO, April 29, 1899.

“HONORABLE GENTLEMEN,—The Philippine people through its government, makes known to the commission that it has not yet lost its confidence in the friendship, justice, and magnanimity of the North American nation.

“It feels itself weak before the advance of the American troops, whose valor it admires, and in view of the superiority of their organization, discipline, fighting material, and other resources, does not feel humiliated in soliciting peace, invoking the generous sentiments of the Government of the North American people, worthily represented by the commission, and the sacred interests of humanity.

“But the Philippine Government, fully convinced that it has not provoked war, and that it has only employed its arms in defence of the integrity of its native land, asks for suspension of hostilities and a general armistice in all the Archipelago for the short time of three months, in order to enable it to consult the opinions of the people consulting the government which would be most advantageous, and the intervention in it which should be given to the North American Government, and to appoint an extraordinary commission with full powers to act in the name of the Philippine people.

“The welfare of this unfortunate country and the triumph of the governing party in the United States of America, depend upon the prompt establishment of peace. We confess ourselves weak, but we still possess resources—above all, the unfaltering resolution to prolong the war for an indefinite space of time, if the undertaking to dominate us by force is persisted in.

"In laying before the commission the preceding statements I believe that I interpret the sentiments of my President and his government and those of the Philippine people.

"I salute the commission with the greatest respect.

"Your most obedient servant,

"AP. MABINI.*

"(Seal.)

"The members of the Philippine Government have commissioned Col. Manuel Arguelles to present and explain to the North American commission to the Philippines the following points:

"FIRST. The Philippine Government finds itself compelled to negotiate an armistice and a suspension of hostilities as an indispensable means of arriving at peace; in the first place, in order to justify itself before its people as having employed all the means in its power to avoid the ruin of the country, and in the second place, to offer to the commission a means of putting an end to the war in a manner most honorable to the American Army and most glorious to the Government of the United States.

"SECOND. It does not solicit the armistice to gain a space of time in which to re-enforce itself, nor does it expect aid from Japan nor from any other nation, as no government up to the present time has recognized its belligerency, nor is disposed to injure its relations with powerful America, especially as there is nothing to be gained thereby. The Philippine Government earnestly desiring the felicity of its people, while it is still in the pursuit of independence, would not insist upon fighting for its ideal if the Philippine people through its accredited representatives should ask for peace and accept autonomy.

"THIRD. The interests of humanity are at present in harmony with those of the North American Government, and both ask for a brief space of time, however short, in which the Philippine people may reflect upon their sad situation and may understand the bases of the autonomy which is offered to them.

"FOURTH. If, however, this last recourse is denied it, no one can blame the Philippine Government for the tenacity which it may show. The honor of the army and the happiness of the country

* General Otis, in his Report for 1899, page 75, calls Mabini Aguinaldo's "able adviser," and "the man who had furnished the brains," and "who, in fact, was the government" of the insurgents. He is at present, or was recently, on parole as an American prisoner.

will then determine the only line of conduct for it to pursue, namely, to prolong the struggle until it reaches the end of its resources. This prolongation of the struggle would be fatal to both peoples.

“Let the commission reflect, then, while there is time, that if the war is converted into a national war it would be very difficult to keep it within bounds.

“In that case peace would mean the annihilation of the Philippine people or that of the imperialistic party of America.

“AP. MABINI.

“SAN ISIDRO, May 1, 1899.

“(Lead Pencil Note.) If this is refused, notify them that a move will be made for foreign intervention upon the grounds of commercial interests, which are seriously prejudiced by the prolongation of war, and that a manifesto will be published making known to the world the reasons for the war.”

[NOTE. In the first volume of their Report, page 7, the Commissioners summarize certain points brought out in the interviews with the Filipinos in the following words :

“One matter, however, they were told could not be discussed: that was the sovereignty of the United States. That matter, it was said, had been settled by the treaty of Paris, and being so settled was a fact which was now beyond the realm of profitable discussion. Speaking of the matter of independence, the Commission pointed out that by the ninth article of the Treaty of Paris it was provided that the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants were to be determined by Congress.”

In this connection, the editors venture to emphasize two points which are important to an understanding of the interviews below quoted, and which are brought out more prominently in Otis's Report, and in Senate Document 208 (56th Congress, 1st Session,) than in the Report of the Schurman Commission.

I. The Filipinos did not consider a reference to the Treaty of Paris final, inasmuch as they denied the right of Spain to sell a territory of which they claimed their own government was in possession before the treaty was negotiated.

II. The Commissioners' statement that until the Filipinos laid down their arms they could not be told what form of “organic law” would be ultimately granted them, but must trust for that to a subsequent action of Congress, seems to have filled them with sus-

picion. If it is hard for us to sympathize with this suspicion, we should remember that their former treatment by the Spaniards had made them distrustful of those in authority over them, and that their distrust of us must have been heightened by the Spanish version of our ill-treatment of the Indians in this country. Further, we must remember that in spite of our repeated assurances within the previous year that our only desire was for the welfare of the Filipinos, and that they might safely rely upon our honor and our humanity, we were then engaged in what they conceived to be a war of conquest. However mistakenly, they were certainly persuaded that the sovereignty of the United States involved for them a mere change of masters; and unquestionably this belief must have weakened the effect of the Commissioners' assurances that our Congress could be trusted to provide them with a liberal government.]

INTERVIEW WITH LEADING CITIZENS OF MANILA.

[From Report of the Philippine Commission, Vol. II, p. 61-67.]

“ Testimony of Senors Tavera and Tolentino.

“ MANILA, April 21, 1899.

“ Present: President Schurman (in the chair), Colonel Denby, and Prof. Dean C. Worcester; John R. MacArthur, Esq., secretary and counsel. Also Dr. Pardo de Tavera, and Señor Aurelio Tolentino.

“ President SCHURMAN. Gentlemen, we are very happy to receive you, and hope that you will state freely to us whatever you have to say.

“ Dr. TAVERA. Mr. President and gentlemen of the Commission, there has been a commission formed of Filipinos to meet the American Commission and see what would be the most efficacious and rapid way of bringing peace to this people. I am a member

of this commission and I have the honor of knowing Señor Aurelio Tolentino, who has asked me to present him that he may meet you.

“Colonel DENBY. Is he a member of the commission?”

“Dr. TAVERA. Señor Tolentino has been one of the most active members of the Filipino revolution against the Spanish, and naturally he preserves the prestige among the Filipinos of being a decided patriot.

“President SCHURMAN. Is he a member of your commission?”

“Dr. TAVERA. Yes, sir. Now that I have spoken the words presenting Mr. Tolentino, the commission can speak directly to him.

“President SCHURMAN. Perhaps we can proceed in a more orderly manner if you will permit us to ask you a few questions.

“Señor TOLENTINO. Certainly, sir.

“AURELIO TOLENTINO, stated as follows, in response to inquiries by the commission:

“By President SCHURMAN:

“Q. What is your name?—A. Aurelio Tolentino.

“Q. From what part of the country do you come?—A. I have never gone out of Manila.

“Professor WORCESTER. I don’t believe that is what he means.

“Question repeated.—A. I am from the town of Guayo, in the province of Bantangas.

“Q. How long have you resided there?—A. I was born there, but at the age of 23 I was employed in the Spanish offices. Afterwards, as a notary in Morong.

“Q. How long did you stay in Morong?—A. One year.

“Q. And since that time where have you lived?—A. In September, 1896, two weeks after the breaking out of the revolution, they took me out of my house, arrested me, applied an electric machine to me and put chains upon my feet.

“Q. They tortured you?—A. Yes, in Manila, in Bilibid, the presidio, in the penitentiary, in the central police station, and everywhere.

“Q. How long were you a prisoner?—A. Nine months.

“By Professor WORCESTER:

“Q. Why did they torture you?—A. Because when an educated Filipino was not a friend of the priests they always put him in prison, and in Morong I was not a great friend of the priests; and

they tortured me for the purpose of getting a confession from me in regard to the occurrences of the revolution.

“ Q. Have you been engaged with the insurrectos?—A. At first, no, sir ; afterwards, yes, sir ; because my heart demanded vengeance for having taken me to jail when I was not to blame.

“ Q. Of what profession are you?—A. A notary.

“ Q. How long were you a Spanish official altogether?—A. From 1891 to 1896.

“ Q. What have you done since 1896?—A. They put me in jail. After that I lived in my house, because I did not wish to take the field, having my family with me, my mother and my wife ; and then there were secret police of the Spanish living opposite my house, and considering that I was not safe with the Spanish secret police living just opposite to me, I thought it was necessary to take to the field.

“ President SCHURMAN. Dr. Tavera, I would like to ask you a question. I understand there are certain matters about which this gentleman would like to speak to us. Is that so ? If it is, I would think it desirable to give him the word and let him state what he wishes to say.

“ Señor TOLENTINO. My opinion is as follows, Mr. President : As a true Filipino, always desiring the well-being of my native land, as a son desires the welfare of his mother, I see that war is the same thing for a nation as sickness for a man. It is not an ordinary sickness, but a severe and dangerous sickness, and I being a true Filipino and a true son, and one that loves his mother, naturally love my native land, the Philippines, and desire whatever means may be taken to cure this sickness. I do not consider that I have the right to give a remedy to my native land, because, in the first place, I am only one, and, in the second place, I have not the capacity to do so ; but, nevertheless, a commission of Filipinos has been formed with the object of administering this remedy, and whatever the opinion of the commission will be, it will be my opinion also. I bow to that opinion always, when the opinion does not lengthen the war, but if the opinion of that commission tends to lengthen the war, I am not agreeable to it, for my desire is to administer the remedy to cure this sickness. In view of what I have said, and, finally, of the fact that I have been chosen by the commission to be the member to carry their messages and letters to the Filipino government — that is, the Filipino commission has

named me to carry their messages and letters to the government of Aguinaldo —

“Q. To Aguinaldo himself?—A. To Aguinaldo and others who constitute the government.

“By Professor WORCESTER :

“Q. When do you expect to start?—A. The sooner the better, for every day of war is a great damage to our country ; if I can go to-day, so much the better. I do not wish to see another drop of blood spilled.

“President SCHURMAN. Your mission is a most important one and we wish you all success in it.

“Señor TOLENTINO. Many thanks. When I come to Aguinaldo it is probable that he and some of the persons there will ask me about these questions, and what answers can be given? If they should ask me — and they will ask me — “What does the American Government want of the Philippine people?” I wish to ask the gentlemen who form the commission, if they see fit to tell me, whether in reply to that question I am to remain with my mouth closed and answer “I do not know,” or whether they will give me some answer to make.

“President SCHURMAN. Our answer to this question is already contained in our proclamation of the fourth of this month.—A. Yes, sir.

“(At this point in the proceedings the following members of the Filipino commission entered the room and were presented to the United States commissioners by Dr. Tavera : Señors Tomas G. del Rosario, Florentine Torres, Luis R. Yanco, and F. R. Yanco.)

“At the suggestion of President Schurman, the Filipino commissioners were informed of the interview which had previously taken place between President Schurman and Señor Tolentino.

“Colonel DENBY. Señor Tolentino, will you, or one of your confrères, tell us what you want to know which is not contained in the proclamation?

“Señor TORRES. Last Sunday there was a meeting of citizens of Manila — lawyers, doctors, business men, etc.— for the purpose of coming to some arrangement with the Philippine government, in order to secure peace, and of sending a communication to them so as to arrange to meet some delegates of theirs. Letters will be sent from various influential persons in Manila to the Filipinos,

with the idea of coming to some arrangement with them by which they will arrange peace with the American commission.

“President SCHURMAN. Your mission is a very important one and we wish you all success in it.

“Señor TORRES. Señor Tolentino will carry the letters and also will talk to them with the idea of seeing if some understanding can not be arranged. Señor Rosario has written asking permission that he may also go.

“President SCHURMAN. Señor Rosario, would you like to say something?

“Señor ROSARIO. Yes; I am writing two letters, one to Mr. Luna, who is chief of the army, and the other to Mr. Buencamino, who is the secretary of Don Emilio Aguinaldo. I say in these letters that the most influential citizens of Manila have come together to try and secure peace. I have stated in these letters that if they wish more details I will not find it inconvenient to go to them. I have also asked them for a pass, for in time of war many people are suspected and there is danger, and I would also like to have the American commission tell me something that I may say to them before I go.

“President SCHURMAN. We desire to assure you and your confrères once more that we hope you will be successful in bringing about peace.

“Señor ROSARIO. I, as vice-president of the congress of Malolos, shall express to the congress the impressions which I carry from here.

“President SCHURMAN. We give you to take to them, as expressing our views and sentiments, copies of our proclamation. We issued a proclamation on the 4th of this month, and we thought that was sufficient.

“Señor ROSARIO. I said that I wished to take some expressions from the American commission, because the first thing that they will ask me will be, “What sort of autonomy is this that the American commission offers us?”

“President SCHURMAN. It is the automony described in paragraphs 1 and 2 of the proclamation.

“Señor ROSARIO. Very well. I have read this (referring to the proclamation), but perhaps they will want some further detail. I wish to say to your commission that I have come to you as the vice-president of the Filipino congress, and I make this as a per-

sonal statement, that what they wish is independence under the protection of the United States.

“President SCHURMAN. It is not possible to discuss the question of American sovereignty — that is an established fact.

“Señor ROSARIO. It is not to discuss the sovereignty of America; I only wish to inform the commission of the political atmosphere which exists there, and I perhaps may be able to convince them that the autonomy which your commission offers will be a greater advantage than the independence which they desire.

“President SCHURMAN. We are studying the question. We desire to get information from leading Filipinos in all parts of the country, and if a conference were held, that would be the time for details and not now. Only we can say this, that we do look forward to giving them an extremely liberal form of government. Gentlemen, the question you have asked us is one which we would like to consider, and we must, therefore, ask you to excuse us for a few minutes for consultation.

“The United States commissioners here retired from the room.

“The United States commissioners, on returning to the room, presented to Dr. Tavera a written statement, which is as follows :

“‘We have to inform the gentlemen that this commission is composed of five members, only three of whom are present to-day, consequently it is impossible to answer in detail the question as to the exact form of government to be established by the United States in the archipelago; but we have to say that we are studying the question, and, as indicated in the proclamation, desire to consult with prominent Filipinos from all parts of the archipelago, and in the meantime can assert that an exceedingly liberal form of government is contemplated, the commission being opposed to the system of colonial servitude. The commission desires also to inform these gentlemen that we shall be glad to consult with them at any time hereafter, or with other prominent Filipinos, and that we shall be pleased to participate in a formal conference when such has been arranged.’

“The above paper was translated into Spanish by Dr. Tavera, and by him read aloud in Spanish to the Filipino gentlemen, after which Dr. Tavera returned the paper to the stenographer.

“Señor TORRES. On account of some remarks of Señor Rosario, I think that the most practical method would be to establish an autonomous constitution. Some days ago I secured a meeting

with General Otis, in which I gave an account of the meeting of Sunday, and after having told him what happened on last Sunday I told him of the spirit of the meeting. I told him that the predominant opinion was lack of confidence, as the first question which was asked me, as president of the meeting, was: "What sort of autonomy is this that the American proclamation offers us?" and, therefore, I told General Otis that the best thing would be for the commission to give me an organized project of the laws which they intended to propose; but General Otis said that it was impossible to do this without consulting the authorities at Washington. General Otis said that he would admit to no other government, but what I proposed was that he give me a form of the organic law, which would be held in abeyance at present, and that, given such a scheme, if the commission saw fit to listen to us, and if the scheme fulfilled our aspirations, we now, with arms in our hands, would not find it impossible to recognize the sovereignty of America. This suggestion I again make to-day, and think that the intended laws should be made up and put into shape. I make this suggestion before the commission, with the supposition that the Filipinos who are present agree with me; and I may add that a number of people who are outside, and with whom I have talked, are agreeable to this, and are awaiting for this.

"By Prof. WORCESTER :

"Q. When you say outside, do you mean outside of the building or outside of your junta?—A. I mean in Manila and its suburbs, people outside of our commission; and the suggestion being made, I ask the commission to have the goodness to listen to the Filipinos in regard to this.

"Colonel DENBY. Please explain what you mean by an autonomous government.

"Señor ROSARIO. The government of the Filipinos by the Philippine people under the direction or intervention of the United States.

"By President SCHURMAN :

"Q. Would you contemplate a governor appointed by the President of the United States?—A. Yes, sir: that is the recognition of the sovereignty.

"Q. And the cabinet?—A. It should be of Filipinos.

"By President SCHURMAN :

“Q. Appointed by the President of the United States?—A. By the American governor-general.

“By Colonel DENBY :

“Q. Do you mean by that cabinet, a secretary of the interior, a secretary of war, postmaster-general, secretary of the navy, and such officers as we have in our Cabinet?—A. Ministers of the interior, of war, of public instruction, and everything except of justice.

“Q. Why do you except justice?—A. For we wish to have the administration of justice apart from the government—separate from the government.

“By President SCHURMAN :

“Q. You do not include the ministers of war and marine?—A. The management of war and of the marine will be under the immediate direction of the United States.

“By Colonel DENBY :

“Q. Who would collect the customs?—A. I should wish that he might be a Filipino, but I do not know what are the intentions of the United States Government.

“Q. We don't ask you what should be the nationality of the collector, but I ask you to whom should be paid the customs, to the Government of the United States or to the government of the Philippines?—A. To the treasury of the nation—to the treasurer.

“Q. Not to the United States?—A. For my part—I only speak for myself, and I have not talked with my companions over the details—I am willing personally myself to agree to anything just and reasonable.

“By President SCHURMAN :

“Q. Does the autonomous form of government which you have in mind contemplate a legislature?—A. A chamber of representatives elected by suffrage.

“Q. Universal suffrage or limited suffrage?—A. I, myself, would say universal, but considering my colleagues I am willing to say it should be limited for the present.

“Professor WORCESTER. When you say for yourself ‘universal suffrage’ would you include the Igorrotes in this island—Luzon—the Manguianes of Mindoro, and the Moros of Mindanao?

“Señor ROSARIO. Among these Moros and Igorrotes there are many unenlightened people, and for this reason they should have

limited suffrage; but at the same time there are many of them enlightened people. In my province there are Igorrotes called Aetas, who have European cast of features, but are very black and have curly hair, and these have a government to themselves and have always been completely independent of Spanish rule, which government might serve as a model. When the commission wishes to go there I could accompany them, for I take many people there to show them these people.

“President SCHURMAN. Many thanks.

“Señor TORRES. I am now going to answer the argument of Mr. Worcester in regard to universal suffrage as applied to the Igorrotes, the Moros, etc. I think that if universal suffrage were conceded to the Moros and Igorrotes under certain conditions it would be the means of bringing them to civilized life.

“President SCHURMAN. I understand you gentlemen to favor a limitation of the suffrage. In what way would you limit it?

“Señor ROSARIO. That all who know how to write should have the right to vote.

“Professor WORCESTER. Even if they have no property and are thieves?

“Señor ROSARIO. It is difficult in the Philippine Islands, and in all parts of the world, for I have travelled a great deal, to find anybody who owns property who does not know how to write.

“Professor WORCESTER. It is sometimes easy to find people who know how to write, but who do not know how to vote.

“Señor ROSARIO. But these people — thieves and such people — could not vote anyhow, because they are incapacitated by law.

“Colonel DENBY. In your contemplated form of government have you made any arrangement as to who should be charged with the foreign relations?

“Señor TORRES. The United States.

“President SCHURMAN. And the post-office?

“Señor TORRES. That is a detail, too, although a very important one; but I think that it might be administered by a secretary from this country under the direction, of course, of the United States, as all other postal matters. The governor-general would hold the veto and also intervention.

“Colonel DENBY. Could you draw such a form of government and submit it to us in writing as your views with regard to that question, and, of course, the views of those who join with you?

I ask you primarily because I understand you are a lawyer and perfectly capable of drawing such a paper.

“Señor TORRES. We will form a small commission among ourselves to draw up such a plan, and we appreciate the deference of the commission in allowing us to do so.

“President SCHURMAN. We will have much pleasure in receiving it.

“Colonel DENBY. Because we would like to compare it with our own views.

“Señor TORRES. The plan which I shall present will not be simply my plan, but it will be the plan of several of us, because I have no confidence in the small man that I am.

“Colonel DENBY. We want it to compare with our own views and to see if we cannot come together.

“Señor TORRES. The reason that we did not put in a plan of an autonomous government was that we were waiting for the commission to indicate a plan to us.

“Colonel DENBY. The object of the commission is to find out the views of all the respectable and influential people whom we can get to tell them to us, and when we go over them we will come to some conclusion.

“Señor TORRES. I beg the commission that they will not wait to listen to all the ideas and plans of the people in the provinces of Luzon and Visaya.

“President SCHURMAN. We see a good many of them here in Manila without going to these provinces, of course.

“Señor TORRES. I wish to say one word. I know more or less the opinions of those who are in the provinces, and I have confidence in saying that they will be agreeable to what we decide upon, for they think that we know a little something about affairs.

“Professor WORCESTER. Will you include in that number those who have arms in their hands at the present time?

“Señor TORRES. For that reason we wish something in writing, to be able to convince them of the granting of what they consider right and proper by the American people. The last thing I have to say is that the greatest enlightenment among the people will be found in Manila and not in the provinces.

“Professor WORCESTER. For just that reason we need to see something of the provinces, because we must make a government

that will answer for the enlightened people and for those who are not enlightened.

“Señor TORRES. I will answer that. In respect to the people who are not enlightened, I think that a government may be arranged for both classes, for the enlightened and the unenlightened, so that the enlightened may be satisfied, and those who are not enlightened may be educated.

“Señor ROSARIO. General Otis spoke to me about this question and I gave him an easy solution—that the American commission come to an understanding with the Philippine Assembly, for they are the representatives of all.

“PROFESSOR WORCESTER. Is there a representative there from the province of Calamianis?

“Señor ROSARIO. I think so; yes.

“By President SCHURMAN :

“Q. Is there a representative there for Palawan or Paragua?—
A. I could not say. But General Otis said it was inconvenient, because he asked, “Where are we to consult with them, in Malolos?” -I answered him, “No; but let them come to Manila.” I asked General Otis not to go all about into all the provinces; that it would be easy to convoke an assembly here in Manila. I should wish that such an assembly should meet here in Manila; and, if the commission will give me permission, I will convince them that it is the best thing to come here; I will persuade them to come here when I go.

“President SCHURMAN. That is a question which the commission will consider.

“Señor ROSARIO. It might be inconvenient for the commission to call them as an assembly, such as they are, for it would be a sort of recognition of the Philippine government, but I suggested to General Otis that to summon them as private persons, one by one, and to give each a guarantee of safety that he would not be molested in the city would answer.

“Señor TORRES. I wish to add a last word: That there will be no difficulty over the question of money. I speak not only for myself, but for others whom I have heard talk; that the enlightened people will be content if their aspirations are fulfilled, even if they spend more or less. The complaint of the people was not that Spain took the money, but it was that the employees took their money and spent it. There are many towns which are able

to pay taxes to an intelligent and moral government. And if the commission wishes, I will tell the legislative assembly that they come as private persons to meet the commission here in Manila.

“President SCHURMAN. That is a matter, as I said before, which the commission will consider.

“Señor TORRES. And in regard to the plan of an autonomous government, do you wish to wait or shall we do it?

“President SCHURMAN. Go to work at it now.

“Señor TORRES. I shall, then, visit my friends and neighbors who are interested in this thing, but we will need some days to do it.

“President SCHURMAN. I want to say with regard to the constitution, to the project of an autonomous government, that the object of our procuring such a draft from you is to compare it with our own ideas and see if, in our opinion, an adjustment can be made.

“The meeting adjourned.”

INTERVIEW WITH AGUINALDO'S EMISSARIES.

[From Report of the Philippine Commission, Vol. II, pp. 116-127.]

“*Interview with Senores Gonzaga, Pilar, Barreto, Zialcita.*

“MANILA, May 22, 1899.

“Present: President Jacob Gould Schurman, in the chair; Col. Charles Denby and Prof. Dean C. Worcester, commissioners; and Mr. John R. MacArthur, secretary. Also present: Señor Gracio Gonzaga, Señor Gregorio del Pilar, Señor Alberto Barreto, Capt. Lorenzo Zialcita.

“President SCHURMAN. Will you have the goodness to state from whom you come, gentlemen.

“Señor GONZAGA. We are emissaries of Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo.

“President SCHURMAN. Of course, you understand we do not recognize any government in the Archipelago except the Government of the United States.

“(To this statement Señor Gonzaga and his companions made no reply, but bowed.)

“Nevertheless, we are exceedingly glad to meet such distinguished gentlemen and converse with you on the situation here.

“Señor GONZAGA. Many thanks.

“President SCHURMAN. Our commission has something authoritative to say from the President of the United States.

“Señor GONZAGA. Our commission has the honor to salute the American commission and fulfil its duty in doing so, and also wishes, on the part of General Aguinaldo, to state that the General is anxious to finish this war; that he knows that war is harmful to the country, and that it is his desire to terminate it.

“President SCHURMAN. This commission, on behalf of the President of the United States, desires to reciprocate that sentiment.

“Señor GONZAGA. For this reason the gentleman whom we represent has sent this commission here to hear the plan of government which your commission will propose, and which they think fitting for the country, in order that he may explain it to the people.

“President SCHURMAN. I will now explain the plan definitely proposed by the President of the United States.

“(At this juncture there was read the cablegram of May 5, 1899. See Vol. I, p. 9.)*

“President SCHURMAN. I received a telegram in those words from the President of the United States.

“Señor GONZAGA. Our general, in his ardent desire for the good of his people—for he has no other desire—wishes to present the plan of government, which the American Government wishes to implant here, to the people, in order that the Philippine people may consider it and study it well; and should they accept it, he himself is perfectly agreeable. Whatever may be the form of the government which the United States may see fit to establish in these islands, and although we know that you do not recognize our government, it should be remembered that General Aguinaldo has established a government here, of which he is the President, which is a republican form of government, and this being taken into account he must consult the people, in order that peace may be eternal and may be true peace. For, although he might make

* Appendix B of this pamphlet.

peace and sign it, if the army is not agreeable to this, or if the people are not agreeable to this, the peace would not be final and eternal; it would only be temporary peace. With this end in view, he wishes to be thoroughly familiar with the plan of government in all its details, in order that he may explain it thoroughly to the Philippine people.

“Señor BARRETO. I wish to add a few words to those spoken by my companion. The Philippine people have lived under an illusion in the hope of independence, and General Aguinaldo wishes that this hope may be realized in full, or that the people act by their own will in case the hope is not realized.

“President SCHURMAN. What hope?

“Señor BARRETO. The people have lived under this illusion, and in order that he may explain and make clear this proposition there should be a meeting of the representatives of the Philippine people to make plain this form of government.

“President SCHURMAN. A reunion of the people in their congress?

“Señor BARRETO. Exactly.

“President SCHURMAN. Have you not just had a meeting of your congress, Señor Barreto?

“Señor BARRETO. We have had a meeting, but there was not a sufficient number present to represent the people. On account of our being in a state of war, some of the representatives were in one province, some in another, and they were not able to meet; for that reason General Aguinaldo has to beg a cessation of hostilities, in order to call a meeting.

“Professor WORCESTER. He didn't say that. He did not say anything about a cessation of hostilities. He probably will.

“Mr. GREEN (interpreter). That is the substance of what he said, He said to ‘stop the war.’

“Señor BARRETO. We wish to suspend hostilities, for without a suspension of hostilities, as the gentlemen will understand, it is impossible to have a meeting.

“Professor WORCESTER. How many men did you get together, as a matter of fact?

“President SCHURMAN. How many persons were present at your congress?

“Señor BARRETO. Fifteen.

“President SCHURMAN. How many make a quorum?

“SEÑOR BARRETO. There should be at least 32 present. There are 110 members. In order to hold a meeting they must have 55.

“PROFESSOR WORCESTER. I am free to say to them that, by the new rule, 16 can do business. We would like to know about that.

“PRESIDENT SCHURMAN. Haven't they a new rule by which 16 make a quorum?

“SEÑOR BARRETO. I am speaking according to our constitution. No. But General Aguinaldo wishes not only to explain to this congress, but also to all the elements, the living forces of the people—all the people themselves, including the military force—this plan of government.

“PRESIDENT SCHURMAN. Who are the living forces of the country?

“SEÑOR BARRETO. The military forces and the most enlightened people of the towns; and for that reason we have been sent here to get the most complete and the greatest details of the plan of government which the American Government wishes to establish here; not the general lines, because we know those from the proclamation; for in the proclamation, which we have had the pleasure of reading since we came to Manila, there appeared nothing more than general lines on which the government will be established, which it is desired to establish. With this in view, we wish that the American commission would give us information about the plan of government which the President of the United States wishes to establish here.

“PRESIDENT SCHURMAN. It is here [referring to cablegram].* We submit it to you here to-day. This is a scheme which the President of the United States can put in force immediately. Of course, the final matter is in the hands of Congress, but the President can set up this government now and it will remain in force pending the action of Congress, and until Congress takes action—

“SEÑOR BARRETO. That is to say, that this plan of government can be established here only for the present, but that the final plan of government must be established by resolutions of Congress.

“PRESIDENT SCHURMAN. This government would remain in force until Congress acted, and this commission, after consulting with these gentlemen, will recommend to Congress a permanent and definite form of government.

“SEÑOR BARRETO. That is very true; but, of course, the plan of government will be a question for discussion by the Congress of the United States, and we will not be aware of what will be the

* See Appendix B to this pamphlet.

definite and permanent form of government for the Philippine Islands until Congress has made its decision.

“President SCHURMAN. Having this government in force, which can go in force to-morrow if we have peace, the Philippine people must trust this commission, the President of the United States, and Congress.

“Señor BARRETO. I do not comprehend.

“(President Schurman repeated his last statement.)

“Señor BARRETO. That is to say that this plan of government which will be submitted to us by the commission will be the plan to be enforced until the resolution of Congress.

“President SCHURMAN. Two things are to be said. First, this government will remain in force until Congress acts, and Congress need not take action this year or next year; and secondly, this commission is here for the express purpose of finding out what form of government the Philippine people desire and then making recommendations to Congress regarding the permanent form of government which they desire and which they will approve. We are here to find out what form of government you desire, and then to make recommendations thereon to Congress.

“Señor BARRETO. The idea is, then, that you are to recommend the plan of government which you have considered here for a final plan of government?

“President SCHURMAN. Yes.

“Señor BARRETO. This is the plan of government which is to be in force until the action of Congress?

“Colonel DENBY. It is the plan we propose, but we are willing to listen to you and find out what ideas you have on the subject.

“Señor GONZAGA. We can not make suggestions, because perhaps our suggestions would not be acceptable to you, but what we desire is to take the plan of government which you have studied up and have thought fit for the people, to take it into our own territory and submit it to our people, and if any changes in this plan of government seem necessary or proper to bring back the plan here with these suggestions.

“President SCHURMAN. We will give you a copy of this plan of the President's for such consideration.

“Señor GONZAGA. This plan is provisional, as we understand. This plan is provisional until such time as Congress acts, and we understand also that President McKinley has sent this commission

here to the islands to consider and study a plan of government for them, and we understand that the form of government which you think proper to establish here will be the plan of government which President McKinley will submit to Congress, and if it meets the approval of Congress it is to be the definite form for the country, and we wish to submit this plan of government which you have thought proper for the islands to our people, with the end in view of establishing peace.

“President SCHURMAN. The President of the United States thought it more important to provide a definite scheme of government for the present which should be established at once.

“Señor GONZAGA. We are not speaking of the plan of government which is to be enforced at present, but of the plan of government which will be recommended as the permanent plan.

“President SCHURMAN. Until a permanent form of government shall be developed, if this plan be once established and successful it will be the plan of government, and our commission and the President of the United States desire to have this form set up now in order that peace being thereby established the commission may have the benefit of the advice of the distinguished gentlemen who are now in arms against the United States. Let us stop the fighting, set up this form of government, and then get together and agree as to a future and permanent one. Consequently, this scheme of the President's is a first and necessary step. It does not matter how long we fight, whether we fight one month, one year, or ten years. The settlement of this question will be on us then as well as now. You can not resist our fighting and you may as well come in at once and help us get a constitution, but you must stop fighting in order to get the question settled. The first step is for you to stop fighting, the second a provisional form of government, the third a definite form of government, and finally —

“Señor GONZAGA. For this reason we have come here to put an end to the war, and to put the provisional form of government before the people for their consideration.

“President SCHURMAN. There is a difference. We want not a suspension of hostilities, but an absolute cessation, a termination of fighting, and General Aguinaldo can bring the fighting to an end at once. That is what we want. And war being terminated, next day this form of government can be implanted; and then, in the third place, consultation between the distinguished Philippine

gentlemen and our commission regarding the permanent and definite form of government to be recommended to our Congress. And if you stop fighting, you run no risk regarding the temporary form of government, for the President of the United States has outlined it; and as to the ultimate form of government, you do not run any great risk, because, as you know, the President's idea is embodied in the provisional form of government; and you know the intention of this commission; and this commission desires to satisfy the Philippine people so far as possible.

“SEÑOR BARRETO. That is to say, it is always a possibility —

“PRESIDENT SCHURMAN. You must trust us, as we will have to trust you. There is the possibility of deception; but it is not the policy of this commission or of the United States to deceive anybody.

“SEÑOR BARRETO. But we have wished to know how the commission would cease hostilities. Our desire is that peace should be eternal, and a good feeling should be eternal between the United States and the Philippine people.

“PRESIDENT SCHURMAN. They can terminate the war by accepting the President's plan of government. You here have peace with honor. Stop fighting, and here is an excellent scheme of government provided by the President of the United States for you. Peace with dignity.

“SEÑOR BARRETO. You wish to say, then, that if we accept this plan of government all hostilities will be at an end?

“PRESIDENT SCHURMAN. We wish to say that if you stop fighting you can have this form of government. You have the word of the President of the United States,

“SEÑOR BARRETO. What I understood you to say in the first place was that if we accepted this plan of government hostilities would cease immediately.

“PRESIDENT SCHURMAN. No; I said there were three steps we had to consider. The first was your stopping fighting; the second, the President of the United States setting up this form of government, and the President would do it as soon as you stop fighting.

“SEÑOR BARRETO. Then, in the first place we must stop the war, and in the second place this plan of government will be established, and in the third place there would be the study, the consultation, and recommendations to Congress. I understand, then, that in the first place we are to stop the war, in the second place that this

form of provisional government will be established, and in the third place that this form of government being in force we are to advise with and consult with the commission about the final form of the government which they will recommend to President McKinley, and which he will recommend to Congress as the final form of government for these islands.

“President SCHURMAN. I should want to add to that statement this other: This commission will, so far as it is by any means possible, desire to meet the views and wishes of the distinguished Filipinos regarding their permanent form of government, subject only and always to the fact of American sovereignty. We are very anxious to come to an understanding with you, but only under one condition, the fact of American sovereignty.

“Señor BARRETO. You wish, then, to hear the desires of enlightened Filipinos about the definite form of government, always considering the sovereignty of America?

“President SCHURMAN. After we have secured peace and the provisional form of government is established, because it is not possible to get the views of all these people until peace is settled; that is what we want.

“Señor BARRETO. And that is why we have come.

“President SCHURMAN. Why don't you stop fighting, then.

“Señor BARRETO. For that reason we have come now in order that we may explain to the people the plan of government which you propose.

“President SCHURMAN. How does the President's scheme of government please you?

“Señor BARRETO. We have still to consider it, to study it, and our intelligence is not sufficient to answer the question at the moment, on the spur. There are many complicated questions and you, Mr. Schurman, will understand that we cannot give an answer immediately.

“President SCHURMAN. We think you underrate your own intelligence.

“Señor BARRETO. Mr. Schurman, you pay us a compliment, but you know that we are not capable of giving an immediate answer. What we desire is to study this plan and give an answer later.

“President SCHURMAN. We have already outlined almost the same scheme to a former commissioner of General Aguinaldo.

“SEÑOR BARRETO. Our desire at present is to know the details for the plan of government, and to know in what manner the commission wishes the war to be brought to an end.

“PRESIDENT SCHURMAN. When Colonel Arguelles came in he said the Filipinos ‘want peace with honor.’ We said to him there is necessary for peace only this: The recognition of American sovereignty; second, an understanding regarding the form of government, which this commission would want to reach with leading Filipinos; and Colonel Arguelles wanted from us some definite statement regarding the form of government proposed, and we telegraphed to Washington and the President of the United States sent back this.

“SEÑOR BARRETO. But not in the nature of a definite form of government; only for a provisional form.

“PRESIDENT SCHURMAN. Until Congress acts the President can not do more, and you must trust the President now.

“SEÑOR BARRETO. Now, we should like to know from the commission how the war should be terminated.

“PRESIDENT SCHURMAN. We wish General Aguinaldo to stop fighting immediately.

“SEÑOR BARRETO. Well, we are the people attacked. How can we stop fighting? We are ‘doing nothing more than defending ourselves.

“PRESIDENT SCHURMAN. Lay down your arms and the war will stop immediately. The way to end the war is for you to lay down your arms, and the details, that being a military question, are all in the hands of General Otis.

“SEÑOR BARRETO. We understand that this question is not purely a military question, but it is a question both military and civil; and peace once having been established and hostilities suspended we could send a representative to the commission to consult and agree about a definite form of government, meanwhile remaining in our own territory with our own form of government.

“PRESIDENT SCHURMAN. We could not recognize any such form of government.

“SEÑOR BARRETO. We do not ask a recognition implied or in fact of our government; what we wish is a return to the state of affairs in existence before the 4th of February.

“COLONEL DENBY. If we take a hundred years we will still have these questions with us. Why not settle them now?

“Señor BARRETO. We wish that, for we understand that because of the generous wishes of the American commission we could arrive at a definite end.

“President SCHURMAN. I think he said, ‘We want to know what form the general sentiment of the American commission will take.’

“Señor BARRETO. For returning to the condition of affairs as they were before the 4th of February we consider that we shall be in a better position to arrive at a good understanding of the generous impulses and sentiments of the American commission than we are at present.

“President SCHURMAN. That is a military question on which the commission could not undertake to express an opinion. This commission can tell the Philippine people on behalf of the President of the United States what kind of government he is ready to give them, but we have nothing to do with the military question.

“Señor BARRETO. But the commission could order that we may arrive at the end which we both desire—that is, peace and a definite form of government.

“Señor GONZAGA. The gentlemen of the commission have expressed their desire to hear the opinion of the enlightened people in the country about the form of government which is to be established, and we understand that the good desire of the gentlemen of the commission can not be attained without a cessation of hostilities.

“President SCHURMAN. Of course we can hear people who come to us, but we very much prefer fighting should cease.

“Señor GONZAGA. Then the difficulty arises, in the first place—the people who are fighting at present can not come into our lines, because they are in battle, and they should also be hurt. In the second place, there are many people who have retired to distant places and can not come because they are in peace there in these distant places; and in the third place, there are many unforeseen things which come up in a state of war, things which can not be foreseen by either side, and which have a tendency to cause bitterness on both sides. For instance, the American Army may say we have not followed the line of conduct which should be observed according to the rules of war, and this naturally leads to bitterness on our side.

“President SCHURMAN. If General Aguinaldo and two or three of his most prominent generals came in and sat down at this table

as you are here, we believe this whole business could be settled. For example, some of his military men, some of his secretaries, and some of his prominent civil advisers; for example, Señor Paterno the head of the cabinet, whose book I have been studying. They know the sentiments of all their people and their moral influence, and sitting at this table we could settle the thing in a day.

“Señor GONZAGA. General Aguinaldo has no other desire than the prosperity of his country, and he wishes to settle this plan of government, and he wishes to submit this plan of government to his people in order to be exempt from any responsibility afterwards; for it is possible that if he simply says I wish this or I wish that and it does not turn out well afterwards the people may say that he is to blame.

“President SCHURMAN. General Aguinaldo cannot have any stronger desire for the welfare, prosperity, and happiness of the Philippine people than we.

“Señor GONZAGA. I thank you on behalf of myself and my companions.

“President SCHURMAN. And if General Aguinaldo, with half a dozen of his leading military and civil advisers, sat here, I am persuaded we could end this matter immediately.

“Señor BARRETO. To this we may answer that the wish of General Aguinaldo and of his advisers would never be the wish of the entire Philippine people.

“President SCHURMAN. The answer to that is that General Aguinaldo does not begin to control the entire archipelago.

“Señor BARRETO. We shall inform General Aguinaldo as to what the desires of the commission in this respect are.

“Professor WORCESTER. It is customary for people who have a controlling influence in a country to assume responsibility. They are trying to assume it in the possession of the government; and they ought to assume it now.

“President SCHURMAN. General Aguinaldo and his leaders are taking the initiative in this war. If they come here and agree with us we would run the risk for all the rest of the people agreeing with him. For that reason it is not necessary to call all the people of the archipelago into conference. It is not possible to do it. We have already had communications from many provinces saying they are waiting only for the action of General Aguinaldo; for an agreement between General Aguinaldo and ourselves.

“Señor BARRETO. We can not give a definite answer to this, but will propose it to General Aguinaldo. For we do not know whether he would wish to come here, or would accept this responsibility.

“President SCHURMAN. Of course, they would come here as private individuals, but it would give us the greatest pleasure to welcome them, and the communications which we have from other provinces show that the Philippine people are very desirous that General Aguinaldo should reach an agreement with the commission.

“Señor BARRETO. We could not assume the responsibility of answering for General Aguinaldo whether he would be willing to come here and assume that responsibility, but we will lay the matter before him. We first desire from the commission their intercession with General Otis in favor of an arrangement for a cessation of hostilities in order that this agreement may be reached.

“President SCHURMAN. The commission, under its instructions from the President, could not mix in any way with military affairs.

“Señor BARRETO. What we wish the commission to do is not to act in this military matter, but only to intercede for us, seconding the favorable desires of the President.

“President SCHURMAN. We think that we have supplied the Philippine people with an honorable reason for laying down their arms, viz: This liberal form of government which the President of the United States offers them and the proclamation of the commission. The President's programme and the proclamation assure the people of the Philippine Islands the most liberal form of government that they have ever had.

“Señor BARRETO. Any government is more liberal than Spanish government. I do not refer especially to autonomy, but any government whatever is more liberal than the Spanish form of government.

“President SCHURMAN. The President's programme and scheme of government is exceedingly liberal.

“Señor BARRETO. If I am allowed to speak it is a very liberal programme of government, but more liberal forms of government could exist.

“President SCHURMAN. We have promised in our proclamation an ever increasing freedom.

“Señor GONZAGA. Yes, liberty very much greater.

“President SCHURMAN. What more liberal form do you suggest?

“Señor BARRETO. I would desire a form of government more liberal than anything that has been proposed so far.

“President SCHURMAN. In what respect?

“Señor BARRETO. In all the departments named.

“President SCHURMAN. Kindly explain in detail.

“Señor BARRETO. We can not explain this in detail at present, for we have not come charged with this mission.

“President SCHURMAN. You say the President’s programme is not sufficiently liberal, and yet you won’t tell us what form of liberal government you desire.

“Señor BARRETO. As members of this commission we can not explain ourselves in detail, but can only say for the present that while this is a liberal programme, there might exist other programmes more liberal. This is a much more liberal plan of government than that of the Spanish. It is like comparing heaven and earth.

“President SCHURMAN. I think it rather hard that you criticise the President’s scheme as not liberal enough, and yet will not indicate any points in which it ought to be more liberal.

“Señor BARRETO. The members of this commission were not authorized to do so. We are only authorized as members of this commission to hear the proposition of the American commission.

“President SCHURMAN. Then I infer the power which authorized you may think the President’s scheme is more liberal than you think it to be.

“Señor BARRETO. As private individuals, and not as members of the commission, I or any one of my colleagues can say that we consider this plan very liberal and very suitable for the country.

“President SCHURMAN. I want to put aside all minor questions and come to the principal point. The fundamental point is this: We all desire peace.

“Señor GONZAGA. Undoubtedly.

“President SCHURMAN. For you two courses are open, and only two. In the first place, you can go on fighting. In that case you will ultimately be beaten by the superior power of the United States, and the chances of getting good terms then will not be so good as they are at present. The second course is this: You can stop fighting at once, and in the Philippines the scheme of government authorized by the President will be set up. Meantime this commission will consult with your leading men and endeavor to

reach a form of government satisfactory to you. The question for you to decide is this: Which course is it more profitable for you to pursue?

“Señor BARRETO. The second road is undoubtedly the better road for us to follow, and for that reason we have come to propose peace, and for the thousand reasons which we have stated to General Otis. For war being continued, the good feeling would be diminished and hatred would be increased, for the death of one individual affects all his relatives. For this reason we desire a cessation of war. America will lose nothing by the cessation of hostilities. America knows with her power that she can annihilate all of our forces. We understand that the United States, by its superior force, can reconquer the country, although by doing so it will cause death and cause hatred, but we have come to bring peace about, so that the Philippine people should not lose and shall not be prejudiced in the settlement.

“President SCHURMAN. The Philippine people are protected by the President’s form of government and by the commission’s proclamation.

“Señor BARRETO. We wish also to add that this cessation of hostilities would reassure the people a great deal; they would understand then that the United States wished nothing but their best interest. The Philippine people would so be better convinced of the lofty and generous sentiments and desires of the American people, having it in their power to suppress them and at the same time coming to an amicable agreement.

“President SCHURMAN. A general who makes war and continues war has also a right to stop it. Is it not true, General del Pilar?

“General DEL PILAR. Yes.

“President SCHURMAN. And consequently General Aguinaldo has that power.

“Señor BARRETO. But as there are two generals, two different commands, although one might stop war the other might not.

“General DEL PILAR. Add also that we did nothing but defend ourselves. We are the people attacked.

“President SCHURMAN. In reply to General del Pilar we must say that we do not admit that. We reject that statement, but it is a matter of history and we will not discuss it here.

“Professor WORCESTER. The translation was not correct. He

said there are two generals, one of whom desires peace and the other does not.

“President SCHURMAN. Are there two generals, one desiring peace and the other desiring war?”

“Señor BARRETO. No; you (turning to Professor Worcester) did not understand me. What I said was, as there were two generals in the question, one general would not assume without the other to keep any peace until they came to an agreement.

“President SCHURMAN. In such a case somebody has to stop fighting, and among civilized nations it is always the one which is beaten, as, for instance, Spain.

“Señor BARRETO. I don’t understand that it is absolutely necessary to put an end to war that one army should be conquered. An arrangement can be made between both armies before one is conquered.

“President SCHURMAN. Generally, one is getting the worst of it, and the general who is getting the worst of it has sense enough to know that they are going to be beaten and gives up his arms as was done in the recent war with Spain, especially when the conquered party, the one that is being beaten, can get all his reasonable desires.

“Señor BARRETO. This would be a great humiliation to our army. For our army has shed its blood in order to destroy the Spanish Government in making common cause with the Americans.

“President SCHURMAN. They have dimmed the luster and obscured the glory of that by fighting the United States.

“General DEL PILAR. What can you expect of us when we are attacked?”

“President SCHURMAN. I have already denied that assertion. We do not want to go into that question here. We have come here to make peace and to supply and furnish a free government for the people and we want them to regard us in that light.

“Señor BARRETO. In this way we wish to regard you.

“President SCHURMAN. If you will stop fighting it is the opinion of this commission that there is no reasonable doubt about satisfying your desires. By “stop fighting” we mean lay down your arms. Can you find educated Filipinos who are fit for counsellors and judges?”

“Señor BARRETO. I believe so. In some of the districts it would be difficult to find people from the district itself suitable, because

there are some districts where there is no enlightenment—for instance in Mindanao—but doubtless in the islands would be found people perfectly fit for these positions; for under the Spanish Government, although the chiefs of the Government were Spanish, the whole weight of the administration of these different departments was borne by Filipinos.

“President SCHURMAN. The policy of the United States and of the President of the United States will be to appoint Filipinos to all offices which they are qualified to fill—post-offices, custom-houses, and other offices, secretaries, and mayors of cities. Naturally the direction would be in the hands of Americans, but we do not expect that a large number of Americans will be necessary at all.

“Señor BARRETO. In all branches of the administration, then, as for example, the treasury, Filipinos of ability will have admission?

“President SCHURMAN. Filipinos of ability and good character will have the preference.

“Señor BARRETO. And how will the judicial power be organized?

“President SCHURMAN. I repeat that the direction will naturally be in the hands of the Americans. The heads of this department will naturally be Americans. The courts will be composed of both Americans and Filipinos. The President says either Americans or Filipinos, or both, and also the judges. And now General Otis is establishing civil courts and the majority of the judges are to be Filipinos; and I want you to judge of the action of the United States in the future by what General Otis is doing now and by what the President sets forth in his telegram and we in our proclamation; and in the same way we should desire to have, as soon as it is practicable, Filipinos for police service and for a local army, if a local army were necessary—a local militia.

“Señor BARRETO. Are all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands subject to the jurisdiction of these courts?

“President SCHURMAN. Do you refer to the courts General Otis is about establishing?

“Señor BARRETO. Yes; to those provisional courts when he establishes them.

“President SCHURMAN. All over whom we have effective jurisdiction, and the plan of the President contemplates courts with Filipinos and Americans as judges, which shall have jurisdiction over the entire archipelago.

“SEÑOR BARRETO. There will not be any duality of courts?

“PRESIDENT SCHURMAN. No; we desire to have the same courts for the entire archipelago and for all citizens and residents, and that is one reason why it is necessary to have some American judges in order to satisfy the foreigners. Mixed tribunals, rather. We have had the idea of keeping, for the time being at least, the laws in force as codified by Spain, subject, of course, to change whenever change is necessary.

“SEÑOR BARRETO. Of course that should be done.

“The meeting here adjourned.”

[NOTE. Below are given extracts from an interview with Señor Melliza, who came to the Commission as a private individual on the 14th of May, 1899. This pamphlet is already so long that it seems inexpedient to reprint the interview in full, but a few passages of especial interest are quoted.]

[Report of the Philippine Commission, Vol. II, Page 94.]

“Testimony of Senor Melliza.

“MANILA, May 14, 1899.

“Q. [By President SCHURMAN.] Do you think the Philippine people are ready to accept American sovereignty? That is the important point.—A. The people are so accustomed to being deceived by the Spanish that when a thing is told them they wish to be told all about it. For my part, I understand what sovereignty is, but they do not, and they think that sovereignty might be something bad for them.

“Q. What do you think of this form of government being put into effect at once, supposing we had peace to-morrow, to wit: A governor-general for the archipelago, appointed by President of the United States; heads of departments (secretaries) appointed by the governor-general; all the important judges appointed by the President of the United States; these judges and heads of departments to be either Americans or Filipinos, or both; and, lastly, a consultative or general advisory body which should be elected by the people; the governor-general to have the power to

veto without waiting for the action of Congress; the suffrage of the people to be hereafter determined.—A. For our part—that is, for the more enlightened people—the form of government does not make so much difference as the acts of the government. For example, the monarchy of Great Britain, under the rule of Queen Victoria, is much more desirable than the République of Chile.

“Q. You have asked us for a scheme of government, something that would satisfy you. Now I ask you, as a hypothesis, how that form of government would satisfy you, supposing it went into effect to-morrow and lasted until Congress took action?—A. For the enlightened people the form of government itself would not make much difference, but for the common people who are very much inflamed and arrayed against the Spanish Government, and have the idea of not being governed at all except by themselves, the plan will be very difficult. It will be very difficult to get this plan into their heads.

“Q. But, in the first place, if we can satisfy the enlightened people, we shall expect them to convince the masses of the people that it is good; and secondly, under this scheme of government as outlined, Filipinos may have positions as heads of departments and as judges, and I suppose all the positions in the general advisory council.—A. I have said what I have simply with regard to the truth, and for no private interests on my part, for I now live a very retired life on a plantation of my own, and in order to make me President of Viscayas they had to threaten me with a revolver. General Miller asked me to be provost-marshal-general of Iloilo, and I refused. I simply wish to tell the truth as fairly as I know how.

“Q. Of course, this plan is a scheme of general government for the Archipelago. The plan of government for the various provinces and islands we are not prepared to suggest even as a hypothesis yet. We are studying it.—A. I am now going to tell the commission in order that they may understand fully the causes of the resistance in this country.

“Q. We want just that and we will be obliged to you for it. A. What the country wants is that the country itself shall be the one to dictate its laws; it wishes to be the one to execute its laws by means of functionaries who shall be natives. It furthermore wishes that the United States should only appoint a governor who

shall watch the country and see whether the country fulfill perfectly what the laws have promised.

“Q. What powers would you give that governor-general?

A. The power of a protector and the power to interfere in case the country does not fulfill its laws as it has made them; to dictate the fulfillment of the law in internal affairs, that is what we want. We are willing to leave international affairs to the governor-general. In international affairs we are willing to leave everything to America.”

[Page 98.]

“Señor MELLIZA. I am simply explaining to the commission the causes that produced this war, in order that it may not seem strange that the war broke out.

“Q. We understand it to be a fact that Aguinaldo had received \$400,000, and that he and a number of his chief people had left and made peace, and that there was no insurrection here when Commodore Dewey came here on May 1st.—A. I don't know about this because I was in the Provinces at the time. I only say what is said in the newspapers and what I hear. I will answer this. I understand that peace may be made at any moment, when the desire of the United States of America, which is also the desire of the Philippine people, is explained. The Philippine people still are ignorant of what the United States wishes of them, and the only way the Philippine people have of judging is from some Spanish newspapers and from conversations with Spaniards and friars, and the Philippine people suspect that what the United States wish is to substitute their own rule in the place of that of the Spaniards.

“By Professor WORCESTER.

“Q. What newspapers are producing this effect?—A. All the periodicals which are published in the islands and in Madrid from April of last year until peace was concluded with the United States. Especially *El Comercio* in Manila, and the *Porvenir de Visayas*. In the second place the American squadron having come, and General Otis's proclamation having been issued, the Philippine military element was excited and somewhat unfriendly, and put a wrong interpretation on it. And this element said that if the Americans had to protect the Philippine Islands they should not have given them arms and taken their possession; that it would

have been better to allow the Filipinos to constitute their own government, organize their own government, here in Manila, where the Americans had their administration. They could then observe this government, and see whether the Filipinos carried it on well or not, and if the government went on ill they could interfere, but for the moment this element said, America did not allow them to try whether they were able or not to carry on a good government; she showed her intention of taking possession of all the islands. This is what the people believe, but I personally understand that it is a mistaken idea. I think that we have explained all the reasons and the causes of the war.

“Q. War having been caused in this way, how is peace to be restored at once?—A. By putting into practice at once the good intentions of the Americans for the Philippine people, who have been accustomed to being cheated by the Spaniards. It is necessary for the Philippine people, who have seen the Spaniards do not fulfill their promises, to see that the American people intend to keep faith with them.”

APPENDICES.

A

Proclamation issued by the Commission April 4, 1899.

[REPORT OF THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION, VOL. I, PAGE 5.]

[The preamble is an expression of general good-will and honorable intentions. The body of the proclamation is as follows:]

“In the meantime the attention of the Philippine people is invited to certain regulation principles by which the United States will be guided in its relations with them.

“The following are deemed of cardinal importance:

“1. The supremacy of the United States must and will be enforced throughout every part of the Archipelago, and those who resist it can accomplish no end other than their own ruin.

“2. The most ample liberty of self-government will be granted to the Philippine people which is reconcilable with the maintenance of a wise, just, stable, effective and economical administration of public affairs, and compatible with the sovereign and international rights and obligations of the United States.

“3. The civil rights of the Philippine people will be guaranteed and protected to the fullest extent; religious freedom assured, and all persons shall have an equal standing before the law.

“4. Honor, justice, and friendship forbid the use of the Philippine people or islands as an object or means of exploitation. The purpose of the American government is the welfare and advancement of the Philippine people.

“5. There shall be guaranteed to the Philippine people an honest and effective civil service, in which, to the fullest extent practicable, natives shall be employed.

“6. The collection and application of taxes and revenues will be put upon a sound, honest, and economical basis. Public funds, raised justly and collected honestly, will be applied only in defraying the regular and proper expenses incurred by and for the establishment and maintenance of the Philippine government, and for such general improvements as public interests may demand.

Local funds, collected for local purposes, shall not be diverted to other ends. With such a prudent and honest fiscal administration, it is believed that the needs of the government will in a short time become compatible with a considerable reduction in taxation.

“7. A pure, speedy, and effective administration of justice will be established, whereby the evils of delay, corruption, and exploitation will be effectually eradicated.

“8. The construction of roads, railroads, and other means of communication and transportation, as well as other public works of manifest advantage to the Philippine people, will be promoted.

“9. Domestic and foreign trade and commerce, agriculture, and other industrial pursuits, and the general development of the country in the interest of its inhabitants will be the constant objects of solicitude and fostering care.

“10. Effective provision will be made for the establishment of elementary schools in which the children of the people shall be educated. Appropriate facilities will also be provided for higher education.

“11. Reforms in all departments of the government, in all branches of the public service, and in all corporations closely touching the common life of the people must be undertaken without delay, and affected, conformably to right and justice, in a way that will satisfy the well-founded demands and the highest sentiments and aspirations of the Philippine people.”

B

The President's Cablegram of May 5, 1899.

[REPORT OF THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION, VOL. I, PAGE 9.]

“WASHINGTON, May 5, 1899.

“SCHURMAN, Manila :

“Yours 4th received. You are authorized to propose that under the military power of the President, pending action of Congress, government of the Philippine Islands shall consist of a Governor-General appointed by the President; cabinet appointed by the Governor-General; a general advisory council elected by the people; the qualifications of electors to be carefully considered and determined; and the Governor-General to have absolute veto.

Judiciary strong and independent; principal judges to be appointed by the President. The cabinet and judges to be chosen from natives or Americans, or both, having regard to fitness. The President earnestly desires the cessation of bloodshed, and that the people of the Philippine Islands at an early date shall have the largest measure of local self-government consistent with peace and good order.

HAY."

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Contributions from one dollar upwards are solicited from any one desiring to aid in defraying expenses, and may be sent to the Treasurer, WILLIAM H. MCELWAIN, 84 Essex Building, Boston.

Persons joining this Society as members are expected :

1. To inform themselves, as fully and as accurately as possible, as to the true state of affairs in the Philippine Islands.

2. To circulate accurate information, by informal conversation, by inducing others to study the facts collected, and by sending to the Secretary the names of people who may be thought to be interested.

Any one desiring to become a member is asked to send his name and address to L. K. FULLER, 12 Otis Place, Boston.



